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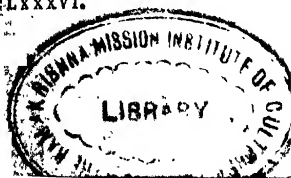
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq. &c.

L E T T E R
FROM
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.
.DATED 21st OF FEBRUARY, 1784.
WITH
R E M A R K S
AND
AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS
TO SUPPORT THE REMARKS.

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Presented by Sri Paribhawan Kulkarni

P R E F A C E.

IF the report was true, that Mr. Hastings had applied to be re-appointed to the Government of Bengal, a direct negative to such an application, might have been fairly founded on his own declarations, contained in the Letter now printed, viz. that age and infirmity had not only impaired his constitution, but his faculties.

Another

Another report is still in circulation, and generally believed, that he, or his friends have applied for a pension for him to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and that the Directors have it in contemplation to give him five thousand pounds a year. The plea made in his behalf is long and able services and great poverty. Before the Directors take their resolution, a Letter from himself, materially connected with such a plea, and the Remarks upon it, are publickly brought into their view, and recommended to their previous consideration.

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The present publication is not meant to injure Mr. Hastings, unless it be deemed an injury to prevent his receiving a gratuity to which he has no just claim, nor even an equitable pretension.

TO THE HONOURABLE
COURT OF DIRECTORS, &c.

On the River Ganges, Feb. 21, 1784.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

HAVING had occasion to disburse from my own cash many sums for services, which, though required to enable me to execute the duties of my station, I have hitherto omitted to enter in my public accounts, and my own fortune being unequal to so heavy a charge, I have resolved to reimburse myself *in a mode the most suitable to your affairs*, by charging the same in my Durbar accounts of the present year, and crediting them by a sum *privately received*, and appropriated to your service in the same manner as other

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sums.

sums received on account of the Honourable Company, and already carried to their account.

The particulars of these disbursements are contained in the enclosed accounts No. 1, 2, 3 and 4, of which No. 5 is the abstract. I shall subjoin a brief explanation of each.

The sum of the account No. 1 is the difference between the allowance of 300 rupees per month, which was the customary pay of the Governor's Military Secretary, and that which I allowed to Lieutenant Colonel Ironside, during the time he acted in that capacity, on account of his superior rank. It was referred to your Honourable Court in one of the letters of the year 1773 or 4; but I presume that it was overlooked in the pressure of other more important matters, which at that time occupied your attention.

No. 2 and 3 are explained in the accounts themselves. No. 4 consists of three several kinds

kinds of charges, which I confess to have been unauthorized, but which I humbly conceive neither to be of a private nature, nor unworthy subjects of the bounty of a great and rising state. The first is inconsiderable, consisting chiefly in the subsistence of the Pundits, who were assembled in Calcutta, and employed during two years in compiling the code of Hindoo laws for your use, the sum allotted to them was one rupee *per diem*. A larger recompence was offered, but refused; nor would they receive this, but for their daily support. They had indeed the promise of some public endowments for their colleges, which yet remains unperformed. The second is the amount of sundry monthly salaries paid to some of the most learned professors of the Mahomedan law for translating from the Arabic into the Persian tongue a compendium of their law called the Hedaya, which is held in high estimation and part of a more voluminous work, which I could not prosecute. Your Honourable Court is in pos-

session of a part of the English version of
 the Hedaya made by Mr. James Anderson,
 and the subsequent part of the same book
 has been lately translated by Mr. Hamilton.
 These gentlemen are both engaged in the
 completion, and are both eminently quali-
 fied for it. It would exceed the bounds of
 this letter to expatiate on the utility of this
 work; yet I may be allowed to vindicate
 the expence of it by one summary argument,
 which is that, while the Mahomedan law
 is allowed to be the standard of the criminal
 jurisprudence of your dominions under the
 control and inspection of your English ser-
 vants, it seems indispensably necessary that
 the Judges of the courts should have a
 more familiar guide for their proceedings
 than the books of the Arabic tongue, of
 which few have opportunities of attaining
 a competent knowledge, and as necessary
 that your servants should possess the means
 of consulting the principles, on which those
 judgments are founded, which, in their
 ultimate resort and in extraordinary cases,
 may

may fall within their immediate cognizance, and of the laws, of which they are the protectors. The third charge is that of an academy instituted for the study of the different branches of sciences taught in the Mahomedan schools. After a trial of about two years, finding that it was likely to answer the end of its institution, I recommended to the Board and obtained their consent to pass the subsequent expence of the establishment to the account of the Company and to erect a building for the purpose at *my own* immediate cost, but for a Company's interested note *granted me for the reimbursement of it*. It is almost the only complete establishment of the kind now existing in India, although they were once in universal use, and the decayed remains of these schools are yet to be seen in every capital town and city of Hindostan and Decan. It has contributed to extend the credit of the Company's name, and to soften the prejudices excited by the rapid growth of the British dominion, and
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it is a seminary of the most useful members of society. I humbly submit the propriety of carrying these expences to your account by the consideration, that it was not possible for me to have been influenced in incurring them by any purpose of my own interest. Something perhaps may be attributed to the impulse of pride in the share, which I might hope to derive of a public benefaction ; but certainly not to vanity or ostentation ; since I believe it to be generally conceived that the whole expence, of which the greatest part is yet my own, has been already defrayed from the Treasury of the Company.

I will candidly confess that, when I first engaged both in this and the preceding expences, I had no intention of carrying it to the account of the Company. Improvident for myself; zealous for the honour of my country, and the credit and interests of my employers, I seldom permitted my Prospects of futurity to enter into the views
of

of my private concerns. In the undisturbed exercise of the faculties, which appertain to the active season of my life, I confined all my regards to my public character, and reckoned on a fund of years to come for its duration. The infirmities of life have since succeeded, and I have lately received more than one severe warning to retire from a scene, to which my bodily strength is no longer equal, and threatens me with a corresponding decay in whatever powers of mind I once possessed to discharge the laborious duties and hard vicissitudes of my station. With this change in my condition, I am compelled to depart from that liberal plan, which I originally adopted, and to claim from your justice, for you have forbid me to appeal to your generosity, the discharge of a debt, which I can, with the most scrupulous integrity, aver to be justly my due, and which I cannot sustain. If it should be objected, that the allowance of these demands would furnish a precedent for others of the like kind, I have to re-
mark

mark that, in their whole amount, they are but the aggregate of a contingent account of twelve years ; and, if it were to become the practice of those, who have passed their prime of life in your service, and filled, so long as I have filled it, the first office of your dominion, to glean from their past accounts all the little articles of expence, which their inaccuracy or indifference hath overlooked, your interest would suffer infinitely less by the precedent, than by a single example of a life spent *in the accumulation of crores* for your benefit, and doomed in its close *to suffer the extremities of private want and sink in obscurity !*

I have thought it proper to complete the present subject by the addition of a charge, which I intended to have submitted to the board, but which, if divided at this time from the others, might have admitted an unfair construction. It is in the account No. 6, and consists of charges incurred for boats and budgerows provided by me, for my
own

own use, on such public occasions, as required my departure from the Presidency on extraordinary services.

My predecessors have always had an establishment of this kind provided for them, and my successor will have a provision devolve to him *superior in convenience and in elegance to any that I have yet seen*, and furnished with a cost, which could not be credited by those, who have seen the subjects of it.

I have the honour, &c.

Your's, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Heads of the Account enclosed in the preceding Letter.

1. Salary to Col. Ironside while acting as the Governor's Military Secretary from April 1772 to May 1773, - - -	8,511	7	6
2. Charges in the Governor General's office from Sept. 1772 to 1st Jan. 1774, - - - - -	1,49,870	11	9
3. House-hire of his Aids de Camp from 1st Dec. 1775 to Jan. 1784. -	33,323,	8	8
4. To Pundits, their diet and charges while employed in compiling the Code of Hindoo Laws; to charges attending the translating the Laws of Mahomed, and for the Expence of the Mahomedan Academy - - -	85,357,	11	9
5. To Budgeroes and Boats for the Governor General's use since 1781 to 18th Jan. 1784, - -	59,165,	5	9
	Rupees	3,36,228,	13 5

Note. No. 2, this Article consists chiefly of Charges for Pens, Ink, Paper, Tape, &c. with Clerks Salaries,

R E M A R K S.

A LETTER from a Governor General of Bengal, acknowledging the private receipt of money and the application of it to his own use, is an object of curiosity. The fact, if not fairly and clearly accounted for, must naturally excite suspicion. But, if the account he gives of it be palpably defective, obscure, and contradictory, curiosity and suspicion will give way to other sentiments, especially in the minds of men, who have hitherto thought favourably of Mr. Hastings. I mean to examine his letter strictly, but without passion or invective.

The first point to be considered is the time and circumstances, in which it was written. There may be some merit in a voluntary and seasonable confession of questionable acts. But, if it be partially made, or at a suspicious moment, or under the apprehension of a discovery, confession then not only forfeits all pretensions to merit,
but

but indicates a state of mind enfeebled and perplexed by the consciousness of guilt. This general observation may serve for a clew through many mysterious passages of Mr. Hastings's writings and conduct. His present letter, when written, had very much the air of a winding-up not only of his government, but of his life. He says *he has lately received more than one severe warning to retire* ; and, if we may believe what he adds of the actual infirmities of his body and mind, his life was not likely to be a long one. It is evident at least that, while he was writing this letter, he did not expect to continue long in the government. In February, 1784, he had heard of the last arrangement of the administration in England, which placed the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox at the head of affairs. He knew that the power, which had hitherto supported him, had been obliged to give way, and that a system, from which he had no protection to expect, was likely to prevail at home. Such was the opinion current in England in the summer of 1783,
and

and the only one, that could have been impressed upon him at that period by all public and private advices. Without entering into the merits or demerits of the arrangements then in contemplation for the government of India, it is of importance to remark, that one certain effect of those arrangements, with respect to Mr. Hastings, would have been his immediate removal at least, if it went no further. The most favourable event he could hope for was simply to be recalled. But, if an administration, by whom he thought he was condemned, should be disposed to avail themselves of the heavy votes of censure, which were drawn up by Mr. Dundas and Sir Adam Ferguson, and passed the House of Commons in 1782, who could say to what extent their inquiries into the detail of his government might be carried, where they would stop, or to what termination they might lead? In these circumstances, there could be no impression, but that of fear, on the mind of Mr. Hastings ; and under that impression he must have acted, at the period in question. Many
private

private letters mention that, when he set out on his last expedition to Lucknow, his spirits were sunk into the lowest state of dejection.

Carrying this view of his situation and reflexions into the examination of his letter, we may account for many things, which he has left unexplained.

1st. He has received money *privately*, which, if once he were removed from the government, would probably be discovered. The present confession therefore is extorted from him. It is imperfect as it stands, and comes too late. Acts of this nature should be declared at the moment they are done. When they are acknowledged, they should be explained. If Mr. Hastings meant to clear his character, he should have told his employers, at what time he received the money, from whom, and on what account. A late and partial confession can have no object but to anticipate detection. A confession, which specifies no particulars, defeats the
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the effect of a future discovery. Any transaction of this kind, at any period, will be covered by a previous general acknowledgment of the private receipt of money. For how can it be determined, that any particular sums, which he may hereafter happen to have received; were not included in his general confession?

2d. He has received money, which he is very unwilling to relinquish and afraid to conceal. To entitle him to keep it, he makes out a bill of expences against the Company, which, until this time, he had no intention of charging, and loads it with all the petty items *that he can glean from his past accounts*, and which, for twelve years together, he had totally overlooked. This he calls a debt *justly due to him*, and concludes that it will not be disputed by the Directors, since he has found out a private method of discharging it.

3d. Supposing him to expect a future enquiry into the transactions of his Government,

ment, nothing can be of greater moment to him than to create a general prejudice, if he can, in favour of his integrity; especially if the same evidence, that proves his integrity, has a tendency to excite the compassion of men, and to conciliate their benevolence. Mr. Hastings therefore, *in formâ pauperis*, is to be represented to the world as a man, who, after all his services, retires at last from his great employments with a fortune hardly sufficient to furnish him with the comforts of life; much less to reward him for his labours. The pains taken by his agents, to spread and inculcate a general opinion of his poverty, are well known. But he himself has overacted his purpose. Not contented with professing to have acquired only a moderate fortune, which in a comparative sense might possibly be allowed, he threatens the Company with the injury, which their interests should suffer, *by the example of a life* (such as his) *doomed on its close to suffer the extremities of private want, and to sink into obscurity!*

A Man,

A Man, who pleads extreme poverty when his fortune might fairly have been affluent, and when the legislature intended and provided that it should be so, ought first to shew that he really is as poor as he pretends to be; and secondly, by what means so great an income as he has enjoyed can have been honestly as well as compleatly expended. An appeal to the passions before the understanding is satisfied, is suspicious and premature. A plea of distress, that exceeds all bounds of probability, not only deserves no credit, but argues a confusion in the judgment of the person who makes it. It is true that any artifice, however gross, may deceive the multitude; but men of penetration will call Mr. Hastings to a stricter account.

4th. The *substance* of this letter is not the only evidence of the disorder and perplexity, in which it appears to have been written. It is said of Mr. Hastings that he writes English with the utmost elegance and perspicuity. If he be not by this time,

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a perfect master of composition, undoubtedly it is not for want of practise. Yet the expressions he makes use of, on a subject that demanded nothing but plain language, are for the most part affected and intricate, and in some places unintelligible. To a common eye, this circumstance proves nothing, men of deeper judgment will combine it with other evidence, and with *them* it will have its weight. The reader is requested to carry these general ideas along with him through the following discussion.

In the first paragraph Mr. Hastings declares, that he has received various sums *privately*, a part of which he has heretofore carried to the Company's account, but that he has resolved to apply the remainder to his own use, to reimburse himself for sundry expences, which he had been obliged to incur in their service, but which he had hitherto omitted to charge in his public accounts; and he says he does it now, because *his own fortune is unequal to so heavy a charge.*

a charge. In the early part of a lucrative government, these voluntary expences were not too heavy for him; but, when he has held it long enough to accumulate a fortune, he can support them no longer, and now he must be reimbursed by the public. His poverty compels him *to glean from his past accounts all the little articles of expences which his inaccuracy or indifference hath overlooked.* The probable amount of his fortune shall be considered in its place.

It is true, that an extraordinary occasion will sometimes justify a public officer in incurring an extraordinary expence. But, in every instance, the fact and the reasons for it should be immediately reported to his employers, that they may judge for themselves whether such charges are proper, whether they ought to be allowed, and particularly, whether they ought to be continued: On this principle, neglecting to make his charge in proper time precludes him from making it at any time. A Governor, who for several years omits to en-

ter in his public accounts any incidental expences not provided for by his establishment, or authorized by his superiors, may with reason be suspected to have purposely kept them out of sight during the time when his accounts might have been examined, and when such expences might at least have been prohibited in future.

Mr. Hastings foreseeing that his claim might be subject to difficulties, if he really left it to the Court of Directors, very prudently resolved to reimburse himself. He receives money *privately*, without discovering from whom, or on what account, and he pays himself out of it, and this he calls *a mode most suitable to the Company's affairs*.

In the first place, his receiving money privately, on *any* account, is positively against law, and against the very law, which created his office, and made him what he was. In a man so trusted, disobedience is breach of trust, and the importance of the trust is the measure of the crime.

Secondly,

Secondly, There is not a native of Bengal either willing or able to give Mr. Hastings money, without an adequate service in return of some sort or other, which can only be rendered at the Company's expence. A Zemindar will readily give one lack of rupees to a Collector to be excused two in his rent. It rests with Mr. Hastings or his friends to shew, what possible motive, but a corrupt one, could engage any native to give him money privately.

Thirdly, Since Mr. Hastings, by his own confession, is in the habit of receiving money *privately*, how are the Directors to know whether he has confessed *all* that he had received? It is plain that he can conceal the amount of his receipts if he pleases. In his letter of the 16th. December 1782, he tells the Directors, that " he " could have concealed these transactions" (*viz. some others of the same sort*) " if he had " a wrong motive, from theirs and the " public eye for ever." Receiving money against law is not an indifferent action in a

Governor.

Governor. If he had no *wrong* motive, what motive had he? And what was the view or expectation of the person, who gave it? Would any man of common understanding suffer his steward to receive money privately among his tenants under the pretence of paying himself *in a mode most suitable to his master's affairs?* or would he be satisfied with such an account as Mr. Hastings has given the Directors? In a trust of the lowest order, such conduct would be deemed a sufficient evidence of fraud. Much less is it to be endured in a man, in whose integrity, the legislature have placed a distinguished confidence, and who, standing high himself, is looked up to as an example. The eminence of his station makes it essentially *his* duty to set a good example to those, who are under his authority and subject to his influence. Can he check in others the abuses he commits? Can he punish offences, of which he himself is guilty?

Fourthly,

Fourthly, If this *mode* of discharging the Company's debts be *the most suitable to their affairs*, what are we to conclude, but that their affairs are in extreme distress? A government, whose annual revenue is stated at four millions, cannot defray an extra expence *required to enable the Governor to execute the duties of his station*, unless he receives money *privately*. Retrenchments, œconomy, and good management, are the courses, which every state ought to pursue for the recovery of its affairs. Receiving bribes to support extravagance cannot last long and must be the ruin of the government. Every man in office under Mr. Hastings might act as he has done, make use of the same pretences, and plead his example for it. Finally, supposing the distress of the Company's affairs to be a justification of such practises, it ought not to be one in Bengal, since Mr. Hastings himself,* very lately assured the Directors that, " it had been the distinguished lot of the lands immediately subject to the government,

16th December, 1783.

“ ment, over which he presided, to have
 “ enjoyed the clear and uninterrupted *sun-*
 “ *shine* of wealth, peace, and abundance,
 “ and to have dealt out a portion of these
 “ blessings to remote states and members
 “ of the British dominions.”—He might
 have called it moonshine with greater propriety.

Of the five accounts of disbursements now produced by Mr. Hastings, it may be observed in general, that there is not one, of which the Board at Calcutta was not as competent to judge as himself; and the chief of them, viz. for a Mahomedan academy, ought to have been previously recommended to the Court of Directors, and their sanction obtained before the scheme was undertaken.

Lieutenant Colonel Ironside, as Military Secretary, had no claim to extraordinary pay from the Company on account of his superior rank, nor does it appear that he made any. Establishments are useless, if such precedents are admitted. On the British staff, the pay of Secretary to the Commander in chief is ten shillings a day,
 and,

and, whether the duty be done by an Ensign or Field-Officer, never varies.

The second account containing a charge of nearly 15,000*l.* for disbursements in his office of Governor-General, viz. hire of clerks, stationary, &c, &c. The only offices, in which the Governor-General acts distinctly from the Council, are those of the Persian correspondence and military command in Fort. William. For the first, there is a compleat establishment under the Persian Translator, and a Military Secretary for the business of the second, who, with all their petty disbursements, are liberally provided for by the Company. As to stationary, the Company send out immense quantities of it every year for the use of all the public offices at Calcutta. It is not unlikely that Mr. Hastings' accounts and correspondence may be voluminous; but he has no right to load the Company with the expence of an office for the management of his private affairs.

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The third charge for house-rent to his Aids de Camp will appear unbecoming as well as irregular in Mr. Hastings, if it be considered that the Company, as a mark of personal respect to him, allowed him to enjoy a house both in town and country rent-free, and that he accommodated himself with another house in Calcutta at their expence and without their permission.

No. 4. In this account, the first article seems too pitiful to be charged by a man, who receives twenty-five thousand pounds a year from the Company. The second, if proper, ought to have been provided for by the board at Calcutta. Mr. Hastings first indulges his vanity in having it understood that all these services are accomplished at his own expence, that he is the promoter of learning and patron of men of letters, and that he scorns to carry such charges to the Company's account. When this sort of ostentation has answered its purpose, he suddenly turns short upon the Company and insists upon their defraying the charges he has

has been put to in acquiring a reputation of generosity. It is the perfection of prudence, to be reputed bountiful and to make others pay for it.

With respect to his Mahomedan academy, there was nothing so very pressing in the want of it, especially in time of war and in the midst of public distress, but that it might have waited for the approbation of the Court of Directors, on whom at that very time he was drawing bills to the amount of several millions sterling. That he may have erected a building for an academy is not unlikely, because a building supposes a contract, and a contract makes the fortune of a contractor. But that he has done it *at his own immediate cost* is evidently untrue. He says himself that *a Company's interested note has been granted him for the reimbursement of it*. Now it cannot be said that a man, who lends his money on a bond bearing eight per cent. interest, is either immediately or ultimately at the expence of any work, to which the money

so lent may be applied. He has placed himself on a footing with the other creditors of the Company, who have lent their money on the same security and received the same interest for it that he does. But what are the sciences taught in the Mahomedan schools? Can he name any one Mussulman or European who has studied in this academy? Where did they study in the two years before the building was erected? What proof has he that this academy *was likely to answer the end of it's institution*, and why has he produced none? In short, who is there that ever heard of his academy before?—*The decayed remains of these schools are yet to be seen in the principal cities of Indostan!* This indeed is true. Wherever the British dominion has extended, the ruins of ancient establishments are the only traces that are left of them. The greater part of Mr. Hastings's political life has been employed in promoting wars, in the Company's name, by which India, though not conquered, has been utterly laid waste. But it seems that this academy has already *con-*
tributed

tributed to extend the credit of the Company's name and to soften the prejudices excited by the rapid growth of the British dominions! The Company's name is sufficiently known in the East. There was no occasion to do any thing to extend it. But, if the universal devastation and ruin of their country have excited prejudices against us in the minds of the natives of India, of whom ninety-nine in an hundred are *Hindoos*, it may be doubted, whether they will be much softened by the institution of a *Mahomedan* academy at Calcutta. Is it already a consolation to all the nations from Cape Comorin to Surat, whose country has been the seat of war, or to the wretched inhabitants of the Carnatic who may have survived the desolation of their country, that Mr. Hastings has erected an academy at Calcutta? After carrying fire and sword into every quarter of India, where it was possible for our armies to penetrate, does he think that the institution of a school compensates for all the havock he has made, or repairs all the mischief he has done?—Absurdity is not incompatible with cunning. A man,
 who

who is sure of his audience, may hold what language he thinks fit. 93363

Mr. Hastings says *it was not possible for him to have been influenced, in incurring these expences, by any purpose of his own interest.* The truth of this proposition is not self-evident; and, if it were, it would be no reason for carrying them to the Company's account. Who can determine that there is no profit on expenditures made without authority, for which he reimburses himself, and for which no vouchers are produced? As to his motive for doing what he had no sort of right to do, whether it was pride, or vanity, or ostentation, is immaterial. He, who thinks such a question worth discussing, must be passionately fond of talking of himself.

On the three articles, of which the account of No. 4 is composed, one general remark occurs. He begins his letter with asserting, that the sums, which he had had *occasion to disburse were for services required to enable him to execute the duties of his station.*
But

But how the entertainment of learned Mus-
ulmen, or the institution of an academy
have been necessary for that purpose, is a
mystery, which he has prudently aban-
doned to the conjectures of the Court of
Directors.

*He candidly confesses that, when he first
engaged both in this and the preceding ex-
pences, he had no intention of carrying it to
the account of the Company. At that time he
was improvident for himself. At that time,
the exercise of his faculties was undisturbed.
He confined all his regards to his public charac-
ter, and reckoned on a fund of years for its
duration. If, by this last mysterious ex-
pression, it be meant that he depended on
continuing many years in office, his ex-
pectation has not been disappointed. He
has no right to say or insinuate, that he
has not been allowed sufficient time to
provide for the establishment of his fortune
notwithstanding the carelessness and im-
providence, with which he at first neglec-
ted his prospects of futurity. Supposing this*
to

to be his meaning, the assertion is intelligible, though not true. The words, in which he involves it, express nothing but nonsense.

But now, it seems, all the preceding circumstances are reversed. The *infirmities of life have since succeeded*. His *bodily strength* is impaired, and the *powers of mind he once possessed* decay along with it. If it be of any use to him to prove, that he has lost his understanding, the present letter may answer his purpose. He has even lost his style, and cannot write plain English. Who ever heard of a man's *discharging the hard vicissitudes of his station*, or calling the latter part of his own life his *prospects of futurity*? or of *an interested note* for a bond bearing interest? Taking every thing for granted that he has said of himself, let us see what conclusion he has drawn from the premises. Why, *this change in his condition compels him to depart from that liberal plan, which he originally adopted*. Did he expect to be immortal, or to continue in the government
to

whether the Directors approve of it or not.

He supposes it may be objected that *the allowance of these demands would furnish a precedent for others, of the like kind.* If the debt be justly due to him, the payment of it can furnish no precedent injurious to the Company. Debts, justly due, must at all times be paid, whether with or without a precedent. But, supposing these claims of his to be such, as the Directors are at liberty to deny if they think proper, the objection then is a strong one, and he has not answered it. It is a dangerous precedent indeed, to suffer any man in a public trust to run up a private bill without the consent or knowledge of his employers, and at the end of twelve years to insist upon their paying it. But this it seems is *not* dangerous; or, if it be, *their interest would suffer less by the precedent than by a single example of a life spent in the accumulation of crores for their benefit, and doomed in its close to suffer the extremities of private want and sink in obscurity!*

Surity! This indeed is a melancholy conclusion, and possibly might make an impression on the benevolent hearts of the Directors, if he had not before assured them (in his letter of the 20th of January 1782) *that his office had at least enabled him to lay up a provision with which he could be contented in a more humble station*; and if he had not, in another letter dated 11th November 1773, declared, that *a very few years possession of the government would undoubtedly enable him to retire with a fortune amply fitted to the measure of his desires.** If it should now appear that Mr. Hastings's services and circumstances are such as he describes them, his necessities may deserve to be considered. That question is material, and shall be examined by itself.

He concludes his account with a charge of about six thousand pounds sterling for boats provided by him for his own use. *If his predecessors have always had an establisb-*

* Vide Appendix to 5th Report of Sec. Com. No. 5.

ment of this kind provided for them, he ought to have been contented with it. The indulgence of personal vanity is endless, when others are to pay for it. But it seems these boats are *superior in convenience and elegance to any that Mr. Hastings has yet seen*. The Proprietors of India stock will be happy to hear it. Their servant assures them that his boats have been *furnished with a cost, which would not be credited by those, who have seen the subjects of it*. Mr. Hastings's friends have often boasted the simplicity of his manners, and he himself professes to carry it even to *humility*. In one of his narratives, he says, " the Raja of Benares left his capital with a large retinue; but, hearing that I came unattended, he dismissed his followers and met me with a state as *humble* as mine."

But, alas ! the infirmities of life have succeeded, and his faculties are impaired by them !

These

These demands, put together, form an object by no means inconsiderable. Under five heads only, the amount of what he calls *little articles of expence gleaned from his past accounts* is current rupees 3.36.220; or very nearly thirty four thousand pounds sterling.

The probable situation of his fortune remains to be considered. They, who have hitherto insisted most on the moderate amount of it, have at all times allowed him to possess about seventy or eighty thousand pounds, which they truly asserted was a small fortune for a man so long in the government of Bengal, and so much longer in lucrative employments. All the principal offices in the Company's service are lucrative. In the present letter, Mr. Hastings reduces himself to positive and absolute beggary, though his life has been *spent in the accumulation of crores* for the Company. The second part of this proposition is just as true as the first. If so many millions have been accumulated, where are they?

Since

Since the year 1777 he has drawn upon the Directors for many millions sterling and incurred a heavy bonded debt in Bengal. In the same period, bills have been drawn and debts incurred to the amount of several millions more at Fort St. George and Bombay, and properly the whole ought to be placed to the account of Mr. Hastings the contriver and author of the Maratta war. A calculation of these accumulations is stated in the Appendix.

He now wishes it to be understood that, while he was accumulating so many millions for the Company, he has totally neglected his private fortune. Whether he did or not, the fact is, that his fortune was amply provided for by his appointments. Let it be supposed for a moment, that he had no share in the bounty of Cossim Ally Cawn, who is pretty well known to have distributed twenty lacks of rupees among some persons of Mr. Hastings's acquaintance; that he got nothing by the deposition of Meer Jaffer in 1760, or that he lost it
again

again in a commercial speculation ; that he saved nothing while he was second in council at Madras, and in short that he was not worth a shilling when he was appointed to the government of Bengal. Since that time, twelve years and a half have elapsed, in which his avowed receipts and visible expences, being estimated and compared, will shew what he is or ought to be worth at present. With respect to the annexed statements of the credit due to them, it is to be observed

1st. That he is not charged with any receipts beyond his salary, except a lack and a half of rupees received from *Munny Begum*, which never was disputed.

2^d. That his salary, as limited by Act of Parliament in 1773, to £.25,000 was always reckoned to be less than the profits of his place as they stood before.

3^d. That house rent, the principal article of expence in Bengal, was defrayed for

for him. He had three houses (two in Calcutta and one in the country) rented, furnished, and kept in repair by the Company, who are also at the charge of the general entertainments, to which the Governor invites the settlement three or four times a year. So that, out of his great salary, he had literally nothing to provide for but his table, equipage, private servants, and personal expences. In these, by all accounts, there was no appearance of extravagance. Eight thousand current rupees a month is a liberal allowance for them. It would be difficult to shew how they could possibly amount to that sum.

4th. The salaries of the Governor and Council are paid to them in Bengal, at one shilling and nine pence half-penny the current rupee; but, by an established indulgence of the Company to their servants, when they remit their fortunes back again by bills on the Directors, the treasury at Fort William receives the current rupee at two shillings and a penny and sometimes higher, which gives them a profit of three pence

pence halfpenny on every rupee so remitted.

5th. The first statement supposes him not to have improved his growing capital, by putting any part of it out at lawful interest.—The second supposes him to have improved his savings at simple interest only. The third supposes him to have improved them, as he might fairly and honestly have done, at compound interest. In the first case his present fortune ought to be

£261,265.

In the *2d.* ——— £305,418, 3.

In the *3d.* ——— £425,226, 4.

Mr. Hastings, if he has availed himself of all these advantages except the present from Munny Begum, has done nothing that he was not fairly intitled to do. There may be objections to these estimates, but none that will materially reduce the total. Much less can any deductions be reasonably made

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from

from the amount, that will leave him in danger of *suffering the extremities of private want*. For any thing that appears to the contrary to the public eye, a medium of the three totals, viz. £329,969. 15s. 8d. ought to be taken for a fair and moderate estimate of his actual fortune. If not, what has he done with it? It is true that he talks of his inaccuracy, and would willingly be thought a man careless about money matters. But we have the evidence of the contrary before us. He has kept an exact account of the minutest articles of expence, and even of his charities.

There is another way of estimating his fortune, which would encrease it considerably; that is, if he were to be debited with the sums which he has been accused of receiving, or even with those which he has acknowledged.

In March 1775 he was charged by the unfortunate Raja Nandcomar with the receipt

receipt of various sums paid to him by the Raja to the amount of sunaut rupees 3,54,105, or about £36,000. The accuser not only specified all manner of particulars, but came forward, at every possible personal hazard, to make good his charge. If it was false, it was at once the most daring and absurd falsehood that ever was attempted. *Dolus in generalibus versatur*—Falsehood never descends to particulars. The Raja however was instantly hanged, and his charge, whether true or false, must be dismissed out of this account. At present, it is not meant to insist on any thing, but what Mr. Hastings himself has acknowledged. In his letter to the Directors dated 22d of May 1782, but not dispatched from Calcutta until the 16th of December following, he gives them an account of *various sums occasionally converted to the Company's property through his means*, amounting at that time to nineteen lack and a half of current rupees, or £195,000, all which, he says, he has carried to the Company's credit. But, of

this sum, he admits that he had taken their bonds at eight per cent. for four lacks and six thousand rupees, and that he had credit in the account of deposits in the Company's treasury for 2,38,715 rupees more, which he might have called for when he would, and received on demand. If the money was their own, he had no right to take a security for it. He could have no right to lend them their own money at interest. Or,—supposing it possible to invent a pretence, for this course of proceeding, or admitting, as he says, that he *possibly acted without any studied design which his memory could at that distance of time verify*, the bonds ought to have been cancelled long ago, which it is not known that he has done. In his possession, they are a legal security to him and his heirs, and as long as they exist make part of his fortune. The remaining thirteen lacks are said to be expended in Durbar charges, which consist chiefly of bounties and presents made by Government and of secret services only known

known to the Governor. Of these no judgment can be formed unless the particulars were produced.

It is to be presumed that, when Mr. Hastings' Letter and the preceding Remarks upon it are coolly and impartially considered, no rational being can believe, that he is really in that state of penury and distress, which he describes. There is no degree of human credulity, that will reach to such a belief. And yet it may possibly be true that his fortune is not so considerable as apparently it ought to be. He may have appropriated large sums to services, not proper to be explained, that is, to the support of his interest in England. On that presumption, his poverty becomes criminal in whatever degree the supposition makes it credible. If he has wasted his fortune to obtain protection, the inference is plain,—that his actions required interest and favour to protect them, and that his
his

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his poverty arises from his success in corrupting the integrity of persons whose trust and station gave them power to support him.

FINIS.



A P P E N D I X, No. I.

*Extract of a letter from Warren Hastings, Esq.
to the Court of Directors, dated 22d of
May, 1782, but not dispatched until the
16th of December following.*

“WHY these sums were taken by me;
“ why they were, except the second, *quietly*
“ transferred to the Company’s use; why
“ bonds were taken for the first, and not
“ for the rest, might, were this matter to
“ be exposed to the view of the Public,
“ furnish a variety of conjectures to which
“ it would be of little use to reply. Were
“ your Honourable Court to question me
“ on these points, I would answer, that
“ the sums were taken for the Company’s
“ benefit, at times in which the Company
“ very much needed them; that I either
H “ chose

A P P E N D I X.

“ chose to conceal the first receipts from
“ the public curiosity, by receiving bonds
“ for the amount; or possibly acted *with-*
“ *out any studied design* which my memory
“ could *at this distance of time* verify; and
“ that I did not think it worth my care to
“ observe the same means with the rest.
“ I trust, Honourable Sirs, to your breasts
“ for a candid interpretation of my actions,
“ and assume the freedom to add, that I
“ think myself, *on such a subject*, and on
“ such an occasion, entitled to it.”

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the
Court of Directors, dated 16th December,
1782.*

“ Honourable Sirs,

“ THE dispatch of the Lively having been
“ protracted, by various causes, from time
“ to time, the accompanying address, which
“ was originally designed and prepared for
“ that dispatch, (no other conveyance since
“ occurring) has of course been thus long
“ detained.

A P P E N D I X.

“ detained. The delay is of no public con-
 “ sequence ; but it has produced a situa-
 “ tion, which, with respect to myself, I
 “ regard as unfortunate, because it exposes
 “ me to the meanest imputation, from the
 “ occasion, which the late Parliamentary
 “ enquires have since furnished, but which
 “ were unknown when my letter was
 “ written, and written in the necessary con-
 “ sequence of a promise, made to that effect
 “ in a former letter to your Honourable
 “ Committee, dated 20th January last.
 “ However, to preclude the possibility of
 “ such reflections from affecting me, I
 “ have desired Mr. Larkins, who was
 “ privy to the whole transaction, to affix
 “ to the letter his affidavit of the date in
 “ which it was written. I own I feel most
 “ sensibly the mortification of being re-
 “ duced to the necessity of using such pre-
 “ cautions to guard my reputation from
 “ dishonour. If I had, *at any time*, pos-
 “ sessed that degree of confidence from my
 “ immediate employers, which they never
 “ withheld from the *meanest* of my pre-

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deceffors,

A P P E N D I X.

“ decessors, I should have disdained to use
“ these attentions. How I have drawn on
“ me a different treatment I know not ; it
“ is sufficient that I have not merited it :
“ and in the course of a service of thirty-
“ two years, and ten of these employed in
“ maintaining the powers and discharging
“ the duties of the first office of the British
“ Government in India, that Honourable
“ Court ought to know whether I possess
“ the integrity and honour, which are the
“ first requisites of such a station. If I
“ wanted these, they have afforded me but
“ too powerful incentives to suppress the
“ information, which I now convey to
“ them through you ; and to appropriate
“ to my own use the sums, which I have
“ already passed to their credit ; by the un-
“ worthy, and pardon me if I add danger-
“ ous reflections which they have passed
“ upon me, for the first communication of
“ this kind ; and *your own experience* will
“ suggest to *you*, that there are persons,
“ who would profit by such a warning.

“ Upon

A P P E N D I X.

“ Upon the whole of these transactions, which to you, who are accustomed to view business in an official and regular light, may appear unprecedented, if not improper, I have but a few short remarks to suggest to your consideration. If I appear in any unfavourable light by these transactions, I resign the common and legal security of those who commit crimes, or errors. I am ready to answer every particular question, that may be put against myself, upon honour, or upon oath.

“ The sources, from which these reliefs to the public service have come, would never have yielded them to the Company publicly ; and the exigencies of your service (exigencies created by the exposition of your affairs and faction in your Councils) required those supplies.

“ I could have concealed them, had I a wrong motive, from yours and the public eye for ever ; and I know that the difficulties,

A P P E N D I X.

“ faculties, to which a spirit of injustice may
“ subject me, for my candour and avowal,
“ are greater than any possible incon-
“ venience that could have attended the
“ concealment, except the dissatisfaction of
“ my own mind. These difficulties are
“ but a few of those, which I have suffered
“ in your service. The applause of my
“ own breast is my surest reward, and was
“ the support of my mind in meeting
“ them; your applause and that of my
“ country, are my next wish in life.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

WARREN HASTINGS.”

N.B. It is very material to observe that Mr. Hastings, who, as he himself affirms, “ has
“ *at no time* possessed that degree of con-
“ fidence from his immediate employers,
“ which they never withheld from the
“ *meanest* of his predecessors,” has nevertheless received the unanimous thanks of those immediate employers, viz. the Court of Directors, for his long, able, and faithful services,

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services. It seems also very necessary that Mr. Hastings should state to the Company, whom it is that he means to describe by the words “ *the meanest of his predecessors,*” was it Governor Cartier, or Mr. Verelst, or Mr. Van Sittart, or does he mean the late Lord Clive?

A P P E N D I X No. II.

Extracts from the eleventh Report of the Select Committee, on the Subject of the preceding Letters.

“ **W**HATEVER the cause of these new
“ discoveries (*made by Mr. Hastings*) might
“ have been, at the time of sending them,
“ the fact of the Parliamentary enquiry
“ was publicly known, for, in his letter
“ of the 15th of December, 1782, he ex-
“ pressly mentions his fears, that those
“ Parlia-

A P P E N D I X.

“ Parliamentary enquiries might be thought
“ to have extorted from him the con-
“ fessions which he had made. .

“ He says that in all the long period of
“ his service, he has almost unremittedly
“ wanted the support, which all his pre-
“ decessors had enjoyed from their con-
“ stituents. From mine (*says he*) I have
“ received nothing but *reproach*, *hard epi-*
“ *thets and indignities*, instead of rewards
“ and encouragement.”

What Mr. Hastings says further on this subject, is no less worthy of attention; viz.
that he could have concealed these transactions,
if he had a wrong motive, from theirs and the
public eye for ever. It is undoubtedly true
that, whether the observation be applica-
ble to the particular case or not, practices
of this corrupt nature are extremely dif-
ficult of detection any where, but especi-
ally in India. But all restraints upon that
grand fundamental abuse of presents is gone
for ever, if the servants of the Company
can

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can derive safety from a defiance of the law, when they can no longer hope to screen themselves by an evasion of it. All hope of reformation is at an end, if, confiding in the force of a faction among Directors or Proprietors, to bear them out, and possibly to vote them the fruit of their crimes as a reward of their discovery, they find that their bold avowal of their offences is not only to produce indemnity, but to be rated for merit. If once a presumption is admitted, that wherever something is divulged, nothing is hid, the discovering of one offence may become the certain means of concealing a multitude of others. The contrivance is easy and trivial, and lies open to the meanest proficient in this kind of art: it will not only become an effectual cover to such practices, but will tend infinitely to increase them. In that case, sums of money will be taken for the purpose of discovery and making merit with the Company; and other sums will be taken for the private advantage of the receiver.

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Extract from the Eleventh Report, page 13.

HE professes not to be certain of the motives, by which he was himself actuated in so extraordinary a concealment, and in the use of such extraordinary means to effect it : And, as if the acts in question were those of an absolute stranger, and not his own, he gives various loose conjectures concerning the motive to them. He even supposes, in taking presents contrary to law, and in taking bonds for them as his own, contrary to what he admits to be truth and fact, that he might have acted without any distinct motive at all, or at least such as his memory could reach at that distance of time. That immense distance, in the faintness of which, his recollection is so compleatly lost, as to set him guessing at his motives for his own conduct, was from the fifteenth of January, 1781, when the bonds at his own request were given, to
the

A P P E N D I X.

the date of this letter which is the 22^d May, 1782, that is to say, about one year and four months. As to the other sums, for which no bond was taken, the ground for the difference in his explanation is still more extraordinary; he says, “ I did not think it worth my care to ob-
“ serve the same means with the *rest*.”

• The rest of these sums, which were not worth his care, are stated in his account to be greater than those he was so solicitous (for some reason which he cannot guess) to cover under bonds. These sums amount to near 53,000*l*. whereas the others did not much exceed 40,000*l*.

A P P E N D I X, No. III.

S T A T E M E N T, No. 1.

Without Interest.

Amount of Salary received in
 Bengal from April 1772 to
 December 1784, is twelve
 Years and nine Months at
 £25,000 *per Annum*, and one
 Shilling and nine-pence half-
 penny per current Rupee, is
 C. Rs. 35,58,142
 Received from Munny Begum - 1,74,000
37,32,142

DEDUCT

Amount of Expences at 8000 *crs.*
 per Month for twelve Years
 nine Months, is - - - - 12,24,000
 Remains current Rupees - 25,08,142
 Which at two Shillings and one
 penny per current Rupee is £261,265

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APPENDIX.

STATEMENT, No. 2.

With simple Interest.

Allowance of £25,000 *per Annum* received
in Bengal at 1s. 9d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per current Rupee
is - - - - - Crs. 279,070
Deduct 8000 Rupees per Month
for Expences - - - - - 96,000
Remains annual Savings Crs. 183,070

Of this annual Residue, allow one half to
be remitted to Europe, which at 5 *per*
Cent. simple Interest has increased, viz.
Crs. 183,070—half is 91,535—remitted
at 2s. 1d. *per Crs.* is £9534, 18s. for
ten Years - - - - - £95,349
Ten Years Interest at 5 *per C.* is 4767 5

£100,116 5

Add the two first Years Residue on which
no Interest is calculated - - 19069 16
Ditto last 9 Months allowances, d^o.
deducting 9 Months expences 19450

138,636 1

The other half (Crs. 91535) remained in
Bengal at 10 *per Cent.* Interest—eleven
Years Principal is - - - 1006,885
(Crs. 91535) eleven Years
Interest at 10 *per Cent.* - 100,688 8

Crs. 11,07,573 8

Add one Year's Residue
without Interest - - 91,535

11,99,108 8

which at 2s. 1d. *per Crs.* is 1,24,907 2

Munny Begums 174000 Crs. for 12 Years
at 10 *per Cent.* *per Ann.* 208800 is 3,82,800
which at 2s. 6d. per current Rupee is 39,875

£3,03,418 3 0

APPENDIX.

STATEMENT, No. 3.

With compound Interest.

Allowance of £25,000 <i>per Annum</i> received in Bengal at 1s. 9d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per current Rupee is - - - - -	Crs. 279,070
Deduct 8000 Rupees per Month for Expences - - - - -	96,000
Remains annual Savings	Crs. 183,070
Of this annual Residue, allow one half to be remitted to Europe, which at 5 <i>per</i> <i>Cent.</i> compound Interest has increased, viz. Crs. 183,070—half is 91535 re- mitted at 2s. 1d. <i>per Crs.</i> is £9534. 18s.	
Ten Years is - - - - -	£95,349 0
Ten Years compound Interest at 5 <i>per Cent.</i> is - - - - -	30576 5
	£125925 5
Add two Years and a half Re- sidue, without Interest - - -	19069 16
And last 9 Months allowance &c - - -	19450 6
	164415 7
The other half (Crs. 91535) remained in Bengal at 10 <i>per Cent.</i> Interest—eleven Years Principal is Crs. 10,06,885	
Eleven Years compound Interest at 10 <i>per Cent.</i> 8,58,929 14 9	
	18,65,874 14 9
Add one Year's Residue without Interest - - - - -	91,535
	Crs. 19,57,409 14 9
which, at 2s. 1d. per current Rupee is	203896 17
Munny Begums - Crs. 174,000	
at 10 <i>per Cent.</i> <i>per Ann.</i> compound Interest for twelve Years is - - -	372,086 7 6
	Crs. 5,46,086 7 6
which at 2s. 1d. per current Rupee is	56884 0
	£425226 4 "

A P P E N D I X, No. IV.

Statement of the Crores of Rupees, or Millions Sterling, accumulated by Mr. Hastings, for the Benefit of the East-India Company.

	Curr. Rup.
Balance in the Treasury of Bengal at the commencement of the Maratta war, as stated by Mr. Hastings himself in his minute of 10th August, 1778 - - -	2,35,66,000
Cheyte Sing—his extra-contribution - - - - -	10,16,000
Drafts on the Court of Directors from the different Presidencies since the commencement of the Maratta war, computed moderately at six millions sterling - -	600,00,000
Money borrowed upon bond at 8 and 9 per Cent. interest at the three Presidencies	515,99,910
Arrears due at the several Presidencies - - - - -	381,60,270
Carried over, Curr. Rup.	1743,42,180

A P P E N D I X.

Brought over, Curr ^t . Rup ^s .	1743,42,180
*Orders on the Treasury of Fort William unpaid, by the latest accounts - - - -	116,58,891
	<hr/>
Total—Current Rupees	1860,01,071
	<hr/>

That is—Eighteen millions, six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

“ N. B. * No similar accounts of Orders on the Treasuries of Fort St. George and Bombay have been received by the Court of Directors, and therefore cannot be inserted in this Statement, though the amount must be considerable.”

It is material to observe that, besides the expenditure of these extraordinary supplies, all the current revenues of Bengal in the same period amounting, *communibus annis*, to four million sterling a year, have been absorbed; and that whereas, in the year 1776, there was a clear surplus of revenue (exclusive of the produce of any monopoly of salt or opium, of current rupees 129,91,547 applicable to the provision of an

A P P E N D I X.

an investment, or to any other purpose the Court of Directors might think fit,—The expences, by Mr. Hastings's means, have since that time been raised to such an amount that they greatly exceed the resources, as the following statement will shew.

By the Bengal estimates it appears that, in the three years ending the 1st May 1786, the disbursements exceed the resources as follows,

1st year ending May 1784	by cur. rupees	56,21,690
2d ——— May 1785 ———	——	149,01,433
3d ——— May 1786 ———	——	116,16,715

It follows therefore that, if the surplus of 1776 be added to the deficiency of 1786, there will appear and does exist a failure in the annual resources of Bengal compared with its expences, to the amount of current rupees 246,38,262. In other words, the Company's income in Bengal, compared with their expences, was better in the year 1776 than it is in the year 1786, by above two millions, four hundred and sixty three thousand pounds sterling *per annum*.

A P P E N D I X, No. V.

*Extract of a Letter from Warren Hastings, Esq.
to William Devoynes, Esq. dated the 11th
of July, 1785.*

“ ALTHOUGH I am firmly persuaded,
“ that these were my sentiments on the
“ occasion, yet I will not affirm that they
“ were. Though I feel their impression,
“ as the remains of a series of thoughts re-
“ tained on my memory, I am not certain
“ that they may not have been produced by
“ subsequent reflection on the principal
“ fact, combining with it the probable mo-
“ tive of it. Of this I am certain, that it
“ was my design to have concealed the
“ receipt of all the sums, except the second,
“ even from the knowledge of the Court
“ of Directors. They had answered my
“ purpose of public utility, and I had al-
“ most totally dismissed them from my
“ re-

APPENDIX.

“ remembrance. But when fortune threw
 “ a sum in my way of a magnitude *which*
 “ *could not be concealed*, and the peculiar
 “ delicacy of my situation, at the time in
 “ which I received it, made me more cir-
 “ cumspect of appearances. I chose to ap-
 “ prise my employers of it.”



E R R A T A .

Page 1, *read*, In a mode the most suitable to the situation of your affairs.

Page 15, line 6, *instead of* happen, *read* appear.

Page 42, line the last ; *read* Nuncomar.



Recd. on.....18.5.76

R. R. No.....5719

G. R. No.....22783

954.05/HAS/R/1



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